

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00  
NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05 EB-08  
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R 030013Z APR 78  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0407  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 01195

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, SF  
SUBJECT: US-SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS: THE NEXT CHAPTER

1. AS THE DEBATE ON THE ISSUE SHARPENS, MISSION WOULD  
LIKE TO ADD ITS OWN THOUGHTS ON US-SOUTH AFRICAN RELA-  
TIONS: THE NEXT CHAPTER:

- (A) THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE A COMMITMENT TO THE  
SAG, TO AFRICA, AND TO ITSELF TO WORK ACTIVELY FOR PEACE-  
FUL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE BASIS FOR OUR COMMIT-  
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MENT IS THAT APARTHEID IS IMMORAL, AND, IN THE  
NOT-SO-LONG-RUN, THAT IT IS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FOLLY.  
IN SHORT, APARTHEID IS NOT ONLY WRONG -- IT WON'T WORK.  
OVER THE LAST YEAR WE HAVE RENEWED OUR COMMITMENT MANY  
TIMES. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE ARMS EMBARGO, HOWEVER,  
WE HAVE STOPPED SHORT OF SIGNIFICANT POLICY ACTIONS  
DIRECTED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. THIS FORBEARANCE WAS

CORRECT AT THE TIME -- SOUTH AFRICA HAD TO BE GIVEN TIME TO MOVE ON ITS OWN. THE DOMESTIC RACIAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, HOWEVER, HAS UNQUESTIONABLY DETERIORATED OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS. OUR DIPLOMATIC PRESSURES TO DATE HAVE NOT BROUGHT ANY IMPROVEMENT. IT IS WISHFUL THINKING TO TRUST THAT PRESSURES AT A SIMILAR LEVEL OF RESTRAINT IN 1978 WILL HAVE ANY MORE EFFECT THAN THEY HAD IN 1977. WE ARE NOW AT A WATERSHED: MAINTENANCE OF OUR COMMITMENT WILL REQUIRE US TO TAKE SOME DIFFICULT DECISIONS ON SPECIFIC POLICY ACTIONS.

- (B) THE IMPLICATIONS OF A FAILURE TO KEEP OUR PUBLIC PROMISE TO ACT SHOULD SOUTH AFRICA NOT BEGIN UNILATERALLY TO CHANGE ITS SYSTEM FAR TRANSCEND OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA. THOUGH THE TERM HAS PERHAPS BEEN OVER-USED, IT IS CORRECT TO SAY THAT THE CREDIBILITY OF KEY ELEMENTS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS AT STAKE: HUMAN RIGHTS, OUR EMERGING ROLE AS A TRUSTED PEACEMAKER IN AFRICA, AND OUR ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A MORE EMPATHETIC AND COOPERATIVE ROLE WITH THE THIRD WORLD IN GENERAL. ALL THREE ELEMENTS WILL SUFFER SIGNIFICANTLY FROM CONTINUED PASSIVITY REGARDING APARTHEID. MANY NOW WATCHING CLOSELY WILL INTERPRET A CONTINUING HANDS-OFF STANCE AS DEMONSTRATING AT BEST A SUBORDINATION OF OUR IDEALS TO ECONOMIC PROFIT, AND AT WORST - THE DOMINANCE OF LATENT RACIST ATTITUDES IN OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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OWN COUNTRY. MUCH IS AT STAKE.

- (C) THE QUESTION OF "LINKAGE" BETWEEN ANY ACTIONS TAKEN AGAINST APARTHEID AND THE NEGOTIATING EXIGENCIES IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA IS COMPLEX AND CANNOT BE DEALT WITH THROUGH A SIMPLE DISAVOWAL. WE CANNOT "POSTPONE" ALL ACTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID UNTIL THE SITUATIONS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA ARE RESOLVED. BUT LINKAGES REGARDING TIMING MIGHT WELL ARISE IN THE SITUATIONS WHERE THE SAME, OR SIMILAR, MEASURES MIGHT APPROPRIATELY SERVE MORE THAN ONE OBJECTIVE. HOW AND BY HOW MUCH TIMING COULD BE SO AFFECTED CANNOT FAIRLY BE JUDGED IN ADVANCE.

- (D) OUR PRIMARY PURPOSES IN UNDERTAKING ANY ACTIONS AIMED AT APARTHEID SHOULD BE TO (1) PROMOTE PEACEFUL CHANGE AND (2) UNDERSCORE THE REALITY AND STRENGTH OF OUR COMMITMENT TO SUCH CHANGE BY DECREASING OUR ASSOCIATION WITH THE ELEMENTS OF ECONOMIC POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT SUPPORT APARTHEID. A THIRD PURPOSE - BETTER RELATIONS WITH BLACK AFRICA - WILL BE SERVED AS A NATURAL SEQUENCE OF PROGRESS ON THE FIRST TWO.

- (E) THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CLIMATE IN SOUTH AFRICA REMAINS BOTH COMPLEX AND DELICATE. THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT HAS WORKED HARD TO ALERT THE WHITE POPULATION TO THE POSSIBILITY OF ECONOMIC MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AND TO PREPARE THE PEOPLE PSYCHOLOGICALLY AND - TO SOME EXTENT - MATERIALLY FOR THEM. SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS ARE THEMSELVES DIVIDED ON THE ADVISABILITY OF SUCH MEASURES. SHOULD THE US, OR THE WEST, INSTITUTE HARSH MEASURES (SUCH AS A GOVERNMENT-DICTATED END TO NEW INVESTMENT), VORSTER WILL BE ABLE CREDIBLY TO DIRECT WHITE FRUSTRATION TOWARD ALLEGED

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0408

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 01195

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

IGNORANCE, PERFIDY AND COWARDICE OF THE WEST -- AND AWAY FROM SOUL-SEARCHING ON THE BASIC MOTIVATION OF, AND JUSTIFICATION FOR, OUR ACTIONS.

- (F) THE ACHILLES HEEL OF THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT IS, DESPITE THE TOUGH TALK, THE VERY REAL FEAR BY SOUTH AFRICAN WHITES OF THEIR ISOLATION FROM THE WESTERN WORLD. IT IS TO THIS FEAR THAT OUR ACTIONS SHOULD BE DIRECTED. AT THIS POINT, GOVERNMENT-DICTATED  
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ECONOMIC "SANCTIONS" SHOULD BE AVOIDED. THEY WILL ONLY PLAY INTO VORSTER'S HANDS, ALREADY SKILLED AT MANIPULATING WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN ANTAGONISMS AGAINST US, AND WILL PROVIDE A READY EXCUSE FOR ECONOMIC COUNTER-MEASURES AGAINST US BY SOUTH AFRICA. RATHER, THE MESSAGE TO BE SENT NOW TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS SUPPORTERS SHOULD BE: (1) APARTHEID IS MORALLY REPUGNANT TO US AND OF ITSELF LEADS US TO DISSOCIATE OURSELVES PROGRESSIVELY FROM YOU; AND (2) APARTHEID HAS SO UNBALANCED THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA THAT WE CAN NO LONGER IN GOOD FAITH CONSIDER SOUTH AFRICA A SAFE AND VIABLE PLACE FOR AMERICAN ECONOMIC INVESTMENT.

- (G) CONSIDERING SOUTH AFRICAN (AND AMERICAN) DOMESTIC REACTIONS AT THIS POINT, AND AWARE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS AGAINST INTERNATIONAL RESTRAINTS TO TRADE AND INVESTMENT, MISSION SUGGESTS A TWO-PRONGED STRATEGY:

- 1) A CAREFULLY PLANNED, HIGH-LEVEL BUT LOW-KEY EFFORT BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO EXPLAIN TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE (AND THE CONGRESS) THE NATURE OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE REASONS FOR OUR OPPOSITION TO IT, AND OF THE REALISTIC OPTIONS OPEN TO US TO ENCOURAGE CHANGE;
- 2) A WELL-COORDINATED SERIES OF ACTIONS AIMED AT DISCOURAGING AMERICAN ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT, WORKING THROUGH THE PROFIT MOTIVE RATHER THAN THROUGH GOVERNMENT FIAT. THE MISSION BELIEVES THAT THE THREE MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CLARK REPORT ARE A GOOD BASES FROM WHICH TO BUILD SUCH A STRATEGY:

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- 1) WITHDRAW FACILITIES OF THE US GOVERNMENT WHICH PROMOTE THE FLOW OF CAPITAL OR CREDIT TO SOUTH AFRICA;
- 2) DENY TAX CREDITS TO THOSE US CORPORATIONS PAY-

ING TAXES TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WHICH FAIL TO  
ACT IN WAYS CONSISTENT WITH AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY;

- 3) WITHHOLD OFFICIAL ENDORSEMENT OF PRIVATE GROUPS  
WHICH ORGANIZE IN DEFENSE OF US CORPORATE INVESTMENT IN  
SOUTH AFRICA UNLESS THEY SATISFACTORILY SUPPORT CORPOR-  
ATE GUIDELINES AND FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN  
BY THE US GOVERNMENT.

- (H) ANY ACTIONS WE TAKE SHOULD BE INCREMENTAL,  
BUT THE INCREMENTS THEMSELVES MUST BE LARGE ENOUGH TO  
HAVE AN IMPACT. TOO GRADUAL APPLICATION OF SANCTIONS  
ONLY PERMITS ACCOMMODATION TO KEEP PACE, AND THE  
MATERIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT IS LOST. EVERY SANC-  
TION "STICK" MUST HAVE A "CARROT". FOR EXAMPLE, EACH  
ACTION MIGHT CONTAIN A QUARTERLY OR SEMI-ANNUAL TIME  
LIMIT: IMPROVEMENTS WOULD PERMIT RELATIVELY RAPID  
LIFTING OF THE MEASURE CONCERNED. IN THIS WAY, SOUTH  
AFRICANS MAY HAVE AN EASIER TIME IN INTERPRETING OUR  
ACTIONS NOT AS PUNITIVE BUT AS CALCULATED INCENTIVES  
FOR THEM TO RECONSIDER POLICIES SO OUT OF STEP WITH  
MORAL AND POLITICAL REALITIES AS TO PROMPT SUCH STEPS  
FROM A TRADITIONAL FRIEND AND IMPORTANT TRADING  
PARTNER.

- (I) OUR PRIMARY VEHICLE FOR SANCTIONS SHOULD BE  
BILATERAL, NOT MULTILATERAL. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE  
UN SECURITY COUNCIL WILL AGREE WITH AN INCREMENTAL,  
CARROT-AND-STICK APPROACH. BLANKET CONDEMNATIONS AND  
PUNITIVE PROPOSALS ARE MORE LIKELY. SOVIET VETOES,  
WIELDED AT AFRICAN BEHEST, COULD CRIPPLE ANY US SANCTIONS  
STRATEGY REQUIRING THE FLEXIBILITY TO ADJUST RAPIDLY TO  
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IMPROVEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE BEST COURSE IS FOR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 01195

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

US, IN CONSULTATIONS BUT NOT NECESSARILY IN CONCERT  
WITH THE FIVE, TO IMPLEMENT A STRATEGY OF WELL-CONCEIVED  
BILATERAL STEPS. IF, WITH THE BONA FIDES WE WILL GAIN  
FROM OUR BILATERAL ACTIONS, WE CAN HAVE A POSITIVE IN-  
FLUENCE ON DRAFT SC RESOLUTIONS, ALL THE BETTER. IN  
TRUTH, HOWEVER, IT SEEMS MORE LIKELY THAT AFRICANS AND  
OTHERS WILL CONTINUE TO PUSH THE COUNCIL CONSIDERABLY  
FURTHER THAN WE (LET ALONE OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES) ARE  
WILLING TO GO AND THAT COUNCIL DEBATES ON SOUTH AFRICA  
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WILL CONTINUE TO BE MARKED MORE BY DIVISIVENESS THAN BY  
COOPERATION.

2. CONSIDERING THE CIRCUMSTANCES AS WE KNOW THEM, AND  
THE URGENT NEED TO DEFINE A CURRENT US POLICY REGARDING  
APARTHEID, MISSION BELIEVES THAT ITS SUGGESTIONS CHART A  
PROPER COURSE FORWARD AT THIS TIME IN OUR EFFORT TO HELP  
CHANGE RACIAL POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA. THEY ARE TRUE  
TO OUR COMMITMENTS AND REALISTIC IN THEIR DESIGN.  
WHETHER THEY WOULD WORK, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, DEPENDS  
ON THE SPIRIT AND WILL OF BOTH AMERICANS AND SOUTH  
AFRICANS. LEONARD

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## Message Attributes

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